Symposiarchs: Margaret Mullett (Dumbarton Oaks)  
Robert Ousterhout (University of Pennsylvania)
In the early years of Dumbarton Oaks, one of the research projects initiated by A.M. Friend was devoted to the lost church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. It was an early humanities collaboration of a literary scholar (Glanville Downey), an architectural historian (Paul Underwood) and an art historian (A.M. Friend), and it represented an attempt to reconstruct a lost building. A three-volume publication was envisaged, but a symposium was also held on the subject in which major scholars were involved. It took place in 1948 with Sirarpie der Nersessian as symposiarch. Friend gave two lectures on the reconstruction of the lost mosaic cycle; Paul A. Underwood spoke about the architecture; Der Nersessian herself gave two lectures on mosaics, while Glanville Downey spoke about the literary texts, Milton Anastos about imperial theology, and Francis Dvornik on the patriarch Photios. As Kurt Weitzmann summarized, “It was a very unified program, demonstrating how Friend had been able to get every scholar at Dumbarton Oaks involved in his project.”

Unlike the projects on Norman Sicily or on Venice, the results of the Holy Apostles initiative were never published, nor was the 1948 symposium. Some materials survive in the Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives of Dumbarton Oaks from that project, also unpublished. Nevertheless, the church of the Holy Apostles continues to attract scholarly attention from philologists, historians and art historians. In the seventy-fifth year of Byzantine Studies at Dumbarton Oaks, a symposium devoted to the church of the Holy Apostles will complete the task of those early years by assessing the significance of the church, its milieu and its legacy.

Friday, April 24, 2015

8:30 AM Coffee on the Music Room Terrace
9:00 AM Welcomes

I: DUMBARTON OAKS AND THE HOLY APOSTLES

9:15 AM Introduction: Symposium, Project, Monument and Visualization.
Margaret Mullett (Dumbarton Oaks)

9:30 AM The Early Days of Dumbarton Oaks, the Holy Apostles Symposium, and St. Sophia in Washington DC: James Carder (Dumbarton Oaks) and Robert Nelson (Yale University and CASVA)

10:15 AM Discussion and Coffee | 10:30 Tour of the Exhibition by Beatrice Daskas and Fani Gargova
II: FOUNDATIONS

Chair: Robert Ousterhout

11:00 AM  Constantine's Apostoleion: A Reappraisal: Mark J. Johnson (Brigham Young University)
11:45 AM  Justinian's Church of the Holy Apostles in the Context of Early Byzantine Church Architecture: Slobodan Ćurčić (Princeton University, emeritus)
12:30 PM  Discussion
12:45 PM  Luncheon in the Orangery

III: LITERATURE AND MEMORY

Chair: John Duffy

2:00 PM  Apostolic Memory: The Literature of Early Christianity in Byzantium: Scott Johnson (Georgetown University and Dumbarton Oaks)
2:45 PM  Rewriting the Apostles for Byzantium: Christian Høgel (University of Southern Denmark)
3:30 PM  Tea
4:00 PM  Apostolic Succession and Byzantine Theology: George Demacopoulos (Fordham University)
4:45 PM  Discussion
5:30-7:30 Drinks on the Green Terrace

Saturday, April 25, 2015

9:00 AM  Coffee on the Music Room Terrace

IV: THE MIDDLE BYZANTINE HOLY APOSTLES, 1, THE NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES

Chair: Susan Ashbrook Harvey

9:30 AM  Around and About the Holy Apostles: Paul Magdalino (Koç University)
10:15 AM  Coffee on the Terrace | Tour of the Exhibition by Beatrice Daskas and Fani Gargova
10:45 AM  Constantine the Rhodian and his Contemporaries: Floris Bernard (University of Gent)
11:30 AM  Creating the Mosaics of the Holy Apostles: Liz James (University of Sussex)
12:15 PM  Discussion
12:45 PM  Luncheon in the Orangery

V: THE MIDDLE BYZANTINE HOLY APOSTLES, 2, THE KOMNENIAN ERA

Chair: Ioli Kalavrezou

2:00 PM  The Logos of Nicholas Mesarites: Ruth Macrides (University of Birmingham)
Inside and Outside the Holy Apostles with Nicholas Mesarites: Henry Maguire
(Johns Hopkins University, emeritus)

The Church of the Holy Apostles and its Place in Later Byzantine Architecture:
Robert Ousterhout (University of Pennsylvania)

Sunday, April 26, 2015

VI: LEGACIES

Chair: Dimiter Angelov

9:30 AM Coffee on the Music Room Terrace
10:00 AM Gennadios Scholarios and the Patriarchate: Nevra Necipoğlu (Boğaziçi University)
10:45 AM What a Difference a Decade Makes: Mehmed the Conqueror, Fatih Camii and the Holy Apostles:
        Julian Raby (Smithsonian Institution)
11:30 AM Discussion and Coffee

Chair: Ruth Macrides

12:00 PM Conclusions: Robert Ousterhout (University of Pennsylvania)
ABSTRACTS

Introduction: Symposium, Project, Monument and Visualization

*Margaret Mullett (Dumbarton Oaks)*

In 1940 Dumbarton Oaks was conveyed to Harvard, and the Research Institute founded. A striking feature was the emphasis on collaborative research, highly unusual in the humanities until fifty years later. One of these projects initiated by A. M. Friend was an attempt to reconstruct the architecture and mosaics of the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, using the architect’s skills of Paul Underwood, the philological skills of Glanville Downey, and his own skills as an art historian. The project was never published, nor was the symposium of 1948. The symposium of 2015 will investigate this riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma inside a puzzle; it will seek to determine why the project and symposium were never completed; it will look at the nature of scholarly reconstruction of lost buildings and how scholarly practice has changed over the seventy-five years from 1940 to 2015; it will attempt to cast light on this important Byzantine building preserved for us only in texts, in buildings based upon it and in the successor buildings on the site, and it will look at the role and reputation of the Holy Apostles in Byzantine culture as a whole.

The Early Days of Dumbarton Oaks, the Holy Apostles Symposium, and St. Sophia in Washington, DC

*James Carder (Dumbarton Oaks) and Robert S. Nelson (Yale University)*

This paper will situate the 1948 Symposium within the larger history of Dumbarton Oaks, the evolving intentions of its founders during the 1920s and 1930s, the recruitment of a faculty, and the realization of that faculty’s promise in this symposium, the most ambitious one since the creation of the institution. At the center of the symposium were the reconstructions of the architecture and mosaics by Underwood and Friend, respectively, scholars at the beginning and end of their careers. Their visual and verbal reconstructions will be set within the longer history of reconstructing Constantinopolitan architecture since the late nineteenth century with special attention to the concerns of Princeton scholars for the role of illuminated manuscripts and their archetypes. Finally, while most papers from the symposium were never published, including the visual reconstructions, the latter served as models for the mosaics of the Greek church of St. Sophia not far from Dumbarton Oaks in Washington. Both Paul Underwood and Cyril Mango, who later joined the staff of Dumbarton Oaks, advised on the iconography of this church and thus brought Constantinople, as they imagined it, to America.

Constantine’s Apostoleion: A Reappraisal

*Mark J. Johnson (Brigham Young University)*

A few years before his death in 337, Constantine set about constructing the building that would become his final resting place. Ostensibly a shrine honoring the Apostles, it eventually became clear that the emperor had an even grander project in mind, a building that would be a church and a mausoleum, as well as a martyrion of the Apostles and a heroon of the first emperor to embrace Christianity. The limited amount of information about the building available in the sources has attracted an extraordinary amount of attention from scholars, but the ambiguity of Eusebius’s brief account of the building and often contradictory information about it in other sources has led to a variety of interpretations as basic questions about it are asked. Was it a cruciform building or a rotunda? What was the chronology of the building and its modifications undertaken after Constantine’s death?
What was the meaning of Constantine’s building as he intended it and how did the meaning shift as time passed?

This paper will examine the sources and separate what is known about these issues from what has been conjectured about them. The interpretation of Constantine’s building that I will propose is based on the facts of the sources, the insights provided by scholars who have previously dealt with the building, and a typological argument that places the building into the context of the tradition of Late Roman imperial mausolea mixed with the then embryonic tradition of Christian church design.

Justinian’s Church of the Holy Apostles in the Context of Early Byzantine Church Architecture

Slobodan Ćurčić (Princeton University, emeritus)

The church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, one of its great historical and architectural landmarks, unfortunately, is a monument that has left no physical traces. Yet its visions have been preserved in a variety of ways from Byzantine times to the present.

How much farther can efforts at “reconstruction” images of the church of the Holy Apostles, based on texts by Byzantine poets, historians, or on our knowledge of surviving buildings, presumed to have been made as its deliberate emulations, can really take us at this point, is a relevant question. Efforts of the first Dumbarton Oaks Symposium that were never published, may perhaps be a significant indicator that distinguished organizers of that Symposium may have tacitly reached a conclusion against pursuing the idea of its publication. For me personally, the challenge would, at first, have seemed to require focusing on examination of the architectural reconstruction of the Church of the Holy Apostles by Paul Underwood a subject he worked on, in close collaboration with Albert M. Friend whose own task was focused on the reconstruction of the church’s complex iconographic program.

“Archival archaeology” put at our disposal in preparation for our current Symposium may reveal some important new results that may stem from investigations of the unpublished material from the first D.O. Symposium on the Holy Apostles. Confronting the relevant architectural drawings by Paul Underwood, now made available to me in digital form on my computer, recalled my first encounter with the original ‘hypothetical reconstruction drawings’ by Paul Underwood. They were shown to me as a Visiting Fellow at D.O. in 1975–76 by the late William Loerke, the Director of Byzantine Studies at Dumbarton Oaks at the time. He approached me with the question whether I would have any interest in publishing this material, at the time languishing, rolled-up on a musty shelf in one of the rooms containing field-work material related to projects conducted under the auspices of Dumbarton Oaks. Having examined it, I came to the conclusion that it contained a number of issues that I found problematic. Furthermore, preoccupied with my own research, at the time far removed from Justinianic architecture, I declined his offer.

As luck would have it, forty years later, I was confronted with Paul Underwood’s legacy yet again. The results of my re-visiting of his material, led me to the conclusion that my approach ought to take me in a very different direction from where I had begun this project. I have been helped and greatly inspired in my deliberations by Liz James in Chapter 6, entitled “The Church of the Holy Apostles: Fact and Fantasy, Descriptions and Reconstructions”, of her book on Constantine of Rhodes. My task here, therefore, will be to discuss the place of the church of the Holy Apostles in view of what we now do know about Early Byzantine Architecture on the bases of knowledge differently accumulated and understood over the past four decades.
Apostolic Memory: The Literature of Early Christianity in Byzantium

Scott F. Johnson (Dumbarton Oaks and Georgetown University)

For the Byzantines, the apostles seem to have played the alternate roles of Christian heroes, on one hand, and authoritative, inspired teachers on the other. In one way, therefore, they merely replaced the pantheon of demi-gods inherited from classical mythology. As teachers, moreover, their personae represented Holy Scripture itself, and Byzantine artists often depicted them holding books or styluses. This paper, however, will attempt to show that there is an even more fundamental, even cognitive, level on which Byzantine writers appropriated the apostles. The apostolic memory preserved in the legends surrounding them provided a system of early Christian knowledge and history which became a framework for Byzantine literature and thinking about the inhabited world and even about cosmology and the divine order. They provided a pattern for talking about holy people, holy stories, and holy space. The memory of the Early Church in Byzantium was conveyed through the real and imagined topography of apostolic action in the world. Apostolic memory, therefore, was as much about the new organization of Christian knowledge as it was a replacement for the classical heroon. And, finally, the self-association of Byzantine emperors with the apostles intertwined this evolving organization of knowledge with the fundamental pillars of Byzantine church and state.

Rewriting the Apostles for Byzantium

Christian Høgel (University of Southern Denmark)

The Biblical Acts of the Apostles (together with the Letters of Paul and others) made biographical writing on the apostles and the main characters of the first Christian generation an obvious matter. In late antiquity quite some energy went into delineating the adventurous and exotic travels—the periados—of these earliest missionaries of Christianity to faraway countries. But by the ninth century, extra-biblical apostle acts met clear criticism from central persons as Photios, who deemed them heretical, and with surprisingly little hagiographical interest, given their importance for such central institutions as the Church of the Holy Apostles. By the tenth century, however, a renewed interest led to the writing of semi-canonized lives of the apostles (and evangelists) in Greek. Niketas David Paphlagon produced an almost complete set of enkomia on apostles, evangelists and other important persons of the apostolic age, and these cleansed yet engaging portraits were to have a wide diffusion. Since Niketas’s institutional position is uncertain, we may only suggest that his probable affiliation with the Church of the Holy Apostles and his close contact with the imperial court (under both Leo VI and Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos) were main factors for his authorship, both in terms of style and theme. If imperially supported, his lives of the apostles reflect, together with the hagiographical activities under Constantine VII, a clearly growing imperial interest in the production of hagiography. A generation later, Niketas’s texts were to have a decisive impact on the hagiographical collection of Symeon Metaphrastes, who would adopt at least five of Niketas’s texts into his menologion, introducing only minor changes into these texts, instead of taking them through his usual wholesale rewriting. Niketas’s writings, or rewriting of older texts, on the apostles may therefore be seen as a major instigator for Symeon and the metaphrastic enterprise.

Apostolic Succession and Byzantine Theology

George E. Demacopoulos (Fordham University)

This essay explores the intersection of the theoretical and the practical aspects of the Byzantine theological tradition as it relates to the concept of Apostolic Succession. Although it originated in the pre-Constantinian period as a rhetorical argument designed to limit the authority of alternative
theologies, during the Byzantine period, as the apostolic narratives were reformulated to accommodate imperial and ecclesiastical power-politics, theological reflection on the ecclesiastical implications of Apostolic Succession underwent significant revision in the service of broader theological, political, and cultural concerns. This shift is most evident in the ways that the shifting portrayals of St. Peter, St. Andrew, and St. Mark vis-à-vis the other Apostles (not only theological polemic but also in hymnography and hagiography) allowed for the expanded promotion of Roman and Constantinopolitan claims to ecclesiastical prestige.

Around and About the Apostoleion

*Paul Magdalino (Koç University)*

My paper is chiefly concerned with the annexes of the church of the Holy Apostles and the imperial burial chambers. To what extent do the outbuildings of Constantine’s mausoleum, as briefly described by Eusebius, correspond to those evoked at greater length by Nicholas Mesarites almost nine hundred years later? And how does the nearby palace, which the emperor used on his ceremonial visits to the church in the ninth and tenth centuries, relate to the rest of the complex? Following discussion of these questions, I shall consider the complex of the Holy Apostles in its wider urban setting, looking at it particularly in relation to (1) the city’s water supply and the long-distance aqueduct system, (2) hypothetical reconstructions of the local street plan, (3) the neighbouring residences of the Theodosian family listed in the *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae* and (4) its ceremonial importance.

Constantine the Rhodian and his Contemporaries

*Floris Bernard (University of Gent)*

Constantine’s poem on Constantinople and the Church of the Holy Apostles is a text that poses many problems. Its structure is disjointed and it is highly problematic to reconstruct its coming into being. In this paper, I aim to contribute to our understanding of the contemporary background to the poet and the text. Constantine was one of the most important intellectual figures of his time. He was involved in several intellectual and political polemics, with for example Leo Choirosphaktes, who followed a similar career path. These polemics found an expression in the manuscripts that Constantine and his contemporaries were writing and compiling, most importantly the final version of the *Anthologia Palatina*. Poetry was at the center of the debate: in how far should poetry comply with the ideals set by classical (especially Hellenistic) poetry, and what role could it still have in society? Other issues of a political and social nature were at stake was well: imperial allegiance, patronage, the tension between capital and province, and shifting social hierarchies all had an impact on Constantine’s poem.

Creating the Mosaics of the Holy Apostles

*Liz James (University of Sussex)*

Constantine’s account of the mosaics of the Holy Apostles, and its relationship with that of Mesarites and his version, were key sources used by art historians to help construct paradigms for the (mosaic) artistic programme of the Middle Byzantine church, paradigms still influential today. My hope is to look in more detail at what both authors tell us about the mosaics, examine some of the biases that these accounts have generated and explore what we think we know about the mosaics in the context of Byzantine mosaic decoration more widely.
The Logos of Nicholas Mesarites

Ruth Macrides (Birmingham University)

Nicholas Mesarites’ written work, of which the Ekphrasis of the Holy Apostles is the best known, is substantial and represents variety in subject and genre. My paper will present his work as a whole, its themes, motifs, the narrative and the narrator. Mesarites’ writing will be studied also in the context of his contemporaries’ work.

Inside and Outside the Holy Apostles with Nicholas Mesarites

Henry Maguire (Johns Hopkins University, emeritus)

Anyone who reads the ekphrasis of the Holy Apostles by Mesarites will be struck by the way he contrasts the interior of the church and its external surroundings. He does this in quite a different manner from Constantine the Rhodian. Rather than setting the church beside the profane monuments of the city, Mesarites gives us a vivid juxtaposition of the daily life outside the building and the Christian mosaics within. Outside we are shown the bountiful gardens that surround the complex, the sea with its cargo ships and its drowning sailors, the hunting grounds of the Philopation with their leaping game, and the school with its fearful pupils, brutal teachers, and disputing academics. These portrayals of secular life frame the core of the ekphrasis, a description of the interior mosaics, which certainly does not lack drama, but which is presented in a more sober language that favors biblical citations rather than quotations from pagan authors.

Mesarites’ juxtaposition of the exterior and the interior of the church is not a simple contrast of the mundane and the physical, for he also unites them into one vision. His approach differs from that of earlier writers such as John Geometres, who interpreted church buildings in abstract Neoplatonic terms as a closed vertical hierarchy, with the colored marbles of the floor and walls representing terrestrial creation and the mosaics above them evoking heaven. Mesarites, on the other hand, is inspired by the cruciform plan of the Holy Apostles to adopt a horizontal, centripetal approach, which employs an old symbolism of the cross, with Christ at the center and the four arms representing the cardinal directions of the physical world. Through this device Mesarites skillfully integrates the inside and the outside environments of the Holy Apostles into a unified exegesis of the church and its surroundings. As Mesarites’ description converges from the worldly exterior to the central image of the incarnate Christ inside the church, the secular vignettes outside the building find their counterparts in the sacred narrative of the mosaics. Mesarites’ concern to link the Gospel scenes with the mundane existence outside the church can be related to the increasing interest of twelfth-century Byzantine artists in incorporating realistic details of daily life into the closed circle of traditional Byzantine sacred iconography.

The Church of the Holy Apostles and its Place in Later Byzantine Architecture

Robert Ousterhout (University of Pennsylvania)

As rebuilt by Justinian in the sixth century, the Church of the Holy Apostles remained one of the most significant landmarks of Constantinople into the beginning of the Ottoman period. For the Byzantine audience, it merited not one but two lengthy ekphrasés. It was a monument so strongly identified with the city that the Venetians chose it as the model for the doge’s palace church in the eleventh century. But what did the building signify within Byzantium? Did it leave an architectural legacy? Pursuant of this, I investigate multi-domed churches across the Byzantine Empire, as well as in Cyprus, Italy, and Aquitaine. With rare exception, however, they have no discernable connection to the Holy Apostles.
For the latter half of the paper I take a different approach, as I examine the role of the Holy Apostles in later Byzantine funerary architecture. I take as my starting point the Typikon of the Pantokrator Monastery (1136), in which John II refers to his burial chapel as the heroon. To my knowledge the only other buildings referred to by this antiquated term are mausolea of Constantine and Justinian at the Holy Apostles. I suspect the use of the term was intended to draw a comparison between John's new mausoleum and the older and more famous one nearby. Although the two buildings were completely different in their architectural forms, the connection was ideological, associated with their function as imperial mausolea.

Gennadios Scholarios and the Patriarchate

Nevra Necipoğlu (Boğaziçi University)

The restoration of the Orthodox Patriarchate by Sultan Mehmed II shortly after his conquest of Constantinople was a major landmark in the transition from Byzantine to Ottoman rule. The first patriarch to be appointed by an Ottoman sultan, Gennadios Scholarios acted as the religious leader of the Greek Orthodox community during the turbulent years between 1454 and 1456, based initially at the church of the Holy Apostles, which, due to the conversion of the Hagia Sophia into a mosque, became the new seat of the Patriarchate, and then at the monastery of Pammakaristos, where the Patriarchate was soon relocated. Gennadios Scholarios's life and writings have recently been the subject of several scholarly works, which have challenged various misconceptions regarding his controversial career both before and after 1453 and have shed light on many aspects of his life that had for long remained obscure, enigmatic, or unexplored. Yet, as far as the period of his life after 1453 is concerned, despite Marie-Hélène Blanchet's exhaustive examination of Gennadios's writings from this period and her nuanced analysis of the role played by factional rivalries among the Greek archontes at Mehmed II's court on the early evolution of the Patriarchate in post-conquest Constantinople, there is still need for a study which treats Mehmed's policies towards the Orthodox Church and towards the Greek population of the city within the broader political and cultural context of the era. The aim of this paper will be to offer some new insights by using a more holistic approach than previous scholars and treat the topic by also taking into consideration the internal politics of Mehmed II's court as well as evolving relations with the Papacy and western powers in response to crusading plans against the Ottomans. The paper will also address the theme of Gennadios's self-association with the apostle Paul and discuss his panegyric on the Holy Apostles, dated 29 June 1456.

What a Difference a Decade Makes: Mehmed the Conqueror, Fatih Camii and the Holy Apostles

Julian Raby (Smithsonian Institution)

When the fifteenth-century Ottoman historian Tursun Bey described Fatih Camii, the Mosque of Mehmed the Conqueror, as built “on the model of Ayasofya,” he prefaced the way in which discussion of this mosque has been framed over the last century – a formalism that has viewed the mosque more in relation to Hagia Sophia than to the Church of the Holy Apostles whose site it occupies, and a discussion that has focused on the contribution of Hagia Sophia to the development of imperial Ottoman mosque architecture.

This emphasis has distracted, though, from the political aspects of Mehmed's actions towards the Holy Apostles. In the space of a decade Mehmed went from giving to taking – from granting the church to the re-established Patriarchate, to taking it to build the most ambitious mosque and educational complex in the Ottoman world. These actions provide a telling commentary on Mehmed's attitude to Byzantium.
SYMPOSIUM ON THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY APOSTLES
IN CONSTANTINOPLE
April 22 - 24, 1948
at Dumbarton Oaks

Under the direction of Miss S. Der Nersessian, Professor of Byzantine Art and
Archaeology, Dumbarton Oaks, Harvard University

Thursday, April 22nd:
A.M. 10:00 - 10:15 Opening remarks by Professor A. M. Friend, Jr., Chairman of
the Board of Scholars, Henry Focillon Visiting Professor
in Charge of Research, and by Professor Der Nersessian
10:15 - 10:45 Glanville Downey, Assistant Professor of Byzantine Literature,
Dumbarton Oaks, Harvard University
"Constantine of Rhodes, Mesarites and other Literary Texts
concerning the Holy Apostles"
11:00 - 12:00 Paul A. Underwood, Assistant Professor of Byzantine Art and
Archaeology, Dumbarton Oaks, Harvard University
"The Architecture of Justinian's Church of the Holy
Apostles": Part I
12:00 - 12:30 Discussion
P.M. 2:30 - 3:30 Professor Underwood
"The Architecture of Justinian's Church of the Holy
Apostles": Part II
3:45 - 4:45 Professor Downey
"The Founder of the Pre-Justinian Church of the Holy
Apostles"
4:45 - 5:15 Discussion

Friday, April 23rd:
A.M. 10:00 - 11:00 Milton V. Anastos, Assistant Professor of Byzantine Theology,
Dumbarton Oaks, Harvard University
"The Imperial Theology of the Sixth Century"
11:15 - 12:15 Professor Friend
"The Mosaics of Basil I in the Holy Apostles": Part I
12:15 - 12:45 Discussion
P.M. 2:30 - 3:30 Professor Friend
"The Mosaics of Basil I in the Holy Apostles": Part II
3:45 - 4:45 Professor Der Nersessian
"The Mosaics of Basil I in the Holy Apostles": Part III
4:45 - 5:15 Discussion

Saturday, April 24th:
A.M. 10:00 - 11:00 Reverend Francis Dvornik, Visiting Scholar at Dumbarton Oaks
"The Patriarch Photius, Scholar and Statesman"
11:15 - 12:15 Professor Der Nersessian
"Mosaic Decorations of the Ninth Century in Constantinople"
12:15 - 12:45 Discussion
12:45 - Concluding remarks by Professor Der Nersessian